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Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabdy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

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Namaltugan); but this is certainly not an Isneg custom, and it would not even be true to say that polyandry is sporadic among the natives, as the above example is probably unique in Apayaw. 595

No Isneg is precluded from contracting marriage or regarded as incapable of the same, and so also there are no marriages that could be said to be enjoined by law or by custom to certain classes of people. The only marriage impediments that exist among the Isneg, besides lineal consanguinity, are collateral consanguinity in the first and in the second degree, and so marriage is forbidden between brothers and sisters, and between first cousins. Marriages between second cousins, although not prohibited, are comparatively rare; they seem to be shunned by the Isneg. 582 835

2. *Courtship*

And now we come to the description of how Isneg boys and girls enter the state of matrimony. 583

Whereas among the Kankanay and other tribes of the Mountain Province, the groom goes to work for a certain period of time in the house of the bride's parents, in Apayaw the Isneg boy merely buys his wife from her parents.

But first of all, who makes the choice? Are the children free and left to their own devices, or do the parents arrange the whole affair among themselves? Have the children anything to say in the matter, or have they merely to agree to their parents' wishes? 584

Infant marriages exist in Apayaw, but they are the exception. In such cases the parents arrange everything and perform all customary ceremonies that precede the actual marriage, while the bride and groom are still too young to know anything about the matter, and perhaps before they have ever seen each other. These marriages are never consummated and the final marriage ceremony never takes place before the regular age, which means usually not before the age of sixteen years for the boy and fourteen for the girl. But such marriages are as easily broken off as they are contracted; indeed, either of the two parties or both may have conscientious objections, because they have somebody else in sight or for some other reason, in which case the transactions never go any further. Whatever has been paid to the parents of the bride is returned to the original owners, and everything goes on as if nothing had happened. I know of one such case of infant marriage, or rather of agreement between the parents while bride and groom were still in their infancy: it was related to [582] [585]

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584 me by the girl herself, and she did not seem to take the whole affair as at all serious; she did not look as if she was inclined to allow the boy to take possession of her heart, let alone of her whole body.

Marriages between grown-up boys and girls that are arranged by the parents without consulting the interested parties, or at least without the said youngsters having taken the first steps in that direction, are much more frequent, and in many cases the young people readily agree, either because they are not so particular about the qualities of their future partner, provided there be one, or because they are otherwise loath to go against the wishes of their elders. But as in the case of infant marriages, objections on the part of either of the two may be sufficient to prevent either the first proposal or all further developments.

The usual way, however, among our Isneg, is that the young man looks for the girl of his choice, wins her consent, and then informs his parents about the matter. After that the elders of both boy and girl take upon themselves the responsibility of all further transactions and ceremonies.

581 Now what qualities are supposed to make the perfect girl in the
832 eyes of an Isneg boy, or at least what is the boy looking for in the
826 girl to whom he will give his heart? She should be handsome (*napiyd*)
461 of course, which means that her skin should be clean, smooth and light-colored; the darker the uglier, the whiter the prettier, is a common Isneg criterion. If possible she should be fat and plump; in the eyes of an Isneg, lean girls are not the acme of beauty. But all this is only of secondary importance; she should be *nalaggát*, "diligent, active", and that is more necessary than anything else: all other qualities are subordinate to this one, and the most handsome flirt will be discarded at once for a diligent girl, be she ever so ugly and as thin as a bean stalk.

And so also in the eyes of a girl, a boy be he ever so handsome (*natáram*),—a quality which however is never despised, provided it goes together with the most important one,—will never make a desirable husband if he is not *nalaggát*. He must not necessarily be a *mánal*, a brave, but he should love work: that is what counts.

581 It might be wondered why the question of diligence is by far more
171 important among the Isneg than among other tribes, to whom other
461 qualities look much more valuable. Indeed in Bontok, for instance, at least formerly, a boy would rarely win a girl, if he had not yet shown some sign of courage, either by taking the head of an enemy

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or by some other brave deed. Why is love of work an almost necessary requisite in Apayaw, where the natives are renowned for their laziness? Or is this almost proverbial love of idleness the reason why future partners look for the contrary virtue in their mates? Is the boy perhaps convinced that he will never be able to earn a decent livelihood, if he is not assisted by a woman who is active and industrious? Does he perhaps know all too well that his hatred of exertion and hard work will never lead to anything, if the girl of his choice does not make up for his deficiencies? And does the Isneg girl perhaps look for an active husband as for a jewel of great price, knowing that the scarcer an object is, the costlier it becomes? I do not think so. The Isneg certainly lack all means of comparison between themselves and members of other tribes, and besides they rarely believe that they are lovers of leisure and idleness, as they usually resent very much hearing outsiders say so. I think that the whole question fits in with the social reason for marriage as given above. Boys marry in order to be helped by a woman, and so they necessarily look for an active one first of all; and girls know that they will carry a heavy burden, so they prefer somebody upon whom they can rely in time of need, somebody who will lend them a helping hand and do his full share as far as custom allows. This I believe to be the explanation of the whole situation.

As soon as a boy has attained the age at which marriage may be contemplated in the not too distant future, he passes most of his evenings at the house of marriageable girls, and he usually has little difficulty in knowing more or less intimately any girls that might possibly be conquered by him. He sees them at home, chats with them, sometimes plays with them, and, except when the parents of a girl definitely object to his suitability as a future partner for their daughter, even passes the night sleeping at their houses.

A few girls are real flirts (*aŋkár*); they are, as the Isneg puts it, fond of men, and if such a situation continues for a considerable time, without any prospect of marriage in the near future, they may become broken-hearted and even lose their minds. Nevertheless such cases are the exception, and active courtship (*mamabdy*, from the stem *babdy*, "woman") is generally the exclusive occupation of boys, while the girls, at least outwardly, usually seem to be very hard to please. But a boy has many ways of attracting the attention of the girls. Just to enumerate a few of them:

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584 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of
832 the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are
534 supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any mem-
[828] ber of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribáw*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *axiwáń*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo, whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balíkiń* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bamboo, open at both ends, and provided with holes along its length, three at one side and one at the other.

584 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldallán*). This is done in the
832 daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by
533 concupiscence (*makibabbáy*). Such songs, however, are not the exclusive property of the male sex.

584 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that
834 are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These
192 are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón, dumiñidiń, dumardarobó*, etc.

584 4. The use of perfumes (*bańúg*), usually consisting of fragrant
832 herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl
302 in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an
824 agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the purpose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called *indáw* at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Andn* brook near Dangla flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and variety of its odoriferous plants: *sildyon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic on trees), *ditdn* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them
832 are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes
776 accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Asindw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

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Iwaxdn: a spirit who formerly was a man, assiduous in courting the girls and very clever in causing the latter to allow him to perform coitus with them. If the boy who goes to court the girls happens to have a small bottle of coconut oil on his person, which is quite customary, *Iwaxdn* sometimes enters the bottle, so that the girl may smell the fragrance he emits and fall in love with the boy.

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5. The wearing of beads. The most powerful in this line are the *buláwan*, round beads, varying much in size, of the color of silver, and possessing a kind of silky lustre. They appear in strings that are worn as necklaces or as ornaments around the headband. Although they prove very attractive to the girl when worn by the boy who comes to court her, these beads are not the exclusive property of the male sex: both men and women make use of them for ornamental purposes.

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6. The giving of presents, as rings, trinkets, clothes, and so on. Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles for chewing betel nut in a pouch (*kélay*), a rather large and generally multicolored handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest; two ends are knotted immediately over the contents with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the receptacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sañkilát*) covers the cloth. The girl takes betel nut, etc., out of the pouch, and both, boy and girl, occasionally interchange rings, the boy detaching one of his own from his *kélay* to give it to the girl, and the latter adding one of her rings to those of the boy's *kélay*. Such an interchange of rings, however, is not always necessarily a sign of consent on the part of the girl to the advances of the boy: this in modification of a statement made by me in a previous paper (CAC–P, 1:226).

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Incidentally it should be noted here that lovers' gifts are never returned, even though no further steps be taken or though some obstacle come in the way of the realization of the young people's dreams; such gifts always remain the property of the donee.

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7. The use of love charms (*mañimud*) to force the girl to think of him. This item is so exceedingly important that I feel obliged to devote a few paragraphs to the same.

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Love charms are used exclusively and very often, if not universally, by young men, never by girls. They usually consist of some herbs

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the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections.

To complete the account I shall add here the means used by a spurned lover in order to revenge himself on the girl who despises his love. The first thing to do is to obtain another kind of herb or mixture of herbs from the compliant shaman. After that the boy pays a last nocturnal visit to the house of the girl who has definitively refused his advances, and throws a part of this charm, which in this case is not a love charm of course, at the girl in question. If it sticks to her body or to her clothes, the Isneg firmly believe that she will conceive through the sole adherence of the herbs thrown at her; in such a case she will forever be scorned by other young men, and the young man's revenge will be complete. If the charm falls down and does not stick to the girl, she will escape unscathed. Similar beliefs are to be found among other Mountain tribes; in certain Kankanay tales, for instance, there is question of a girl who crosses a brook or takes a bath at a place below the one where a boy has thrown his anklet (Kankanay: *bóyat*) into the water: the latter, having floated down, encircled one of the girl's legs, with the inevitable result, not only that she became pregnant at once, but that her being with child became apparent almost immediately.

All the above information concerning the means used by Isneg lovers to win a girl was given to me by young men who had exactly the required age to know everything about the subject from personal experience. From some of the Isneg boys I have also obtained tests giving typical dialogues between a boy and a girl whom he courts. Owing to their content and length and to the necessity of prefacing them with certain linguistic data of a more general nature, they are given as an appendix to the present paper (pp. 261-80).

The Isneg believe that, if the betel (nut, leaf and lime) which a girl prepares for her lover to chew, causes a burning sensation in the latter's mouth, it is a favorable omen for him. In such a case the boy may hope to find his sweetheart ready to accept his suit. So also, if the betel prepared by a lover for his sweetheart burns in the latter's mouth, the girl understands that the boy is really in love with her.

An Isneg lover generally looks for a good omen before going to court the girls, at least when the affair has become serious or when he takes the necessary steps to know definitively whether his feelings

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832 are reciprocated by his sweetheart. To do this he proceeds exactly
787 in the same way as does the Isneg who is intending to go on a jour-
584 ney: he observes the flight of the *labág* bird, whose female is called
[778] *malaxi-bát*, and if the bird fails to cross his path, the omen is good; if it crosses his path, however, he will wait for another occasion in the not too distant future in order to observe again the flight of the *labág*, and, in case of a favorable answer, to go on with his intentions.

584 The definite steps just referred to consist in the following: the young man takes a bundle of betel leaves, some fifty or more betel nuts, and a ring; he rolls everything in a handkerchief, and carries his precious burden to the house of his sweetheart, some time in the evening. Once there he drops the whole package, called *luptág*, into one of the girl's *aligmamán* baskets, without saying the least word about the same. If the girl brings it back to him, it is a sign of refusal on her part; but if she keeps it, the boy knows for certain that his love has been reciprocated, and both consider themselves as engaged by tacit agreement.

From now on the young man will pay his girl regular visits, even though he may continue occasionally to see other girls. If such visits should stop for a considerable time, although without direct fault of the boy, any Isneg girl would have to conclude that the boy's love had shifted toward somebody else. Should the boy break the engagement, either on his own account or in obedience to the wishes of his elders, he is liable to be fined by the parents of the outraged girl.

To know for sure that the other party's interest has not slackened, Isneg lovers sometimes resort to the proposal of a date for some future meeting. If the girl does not appear at the trysting place, the boy is *maikáwa* (disappointed, annoyed), as this is an unmistakable sign that the girl does not love him any more; if the boy fails to make an appearance, the girl knows that his love toward her has ceased. Although this is done by young people, whether engaged or not, it goes without saying that in the former case it takes place only if some doubt has arisen in the boy's mind or in that of the girl as to the faithfulness of his or her partner.

584 As soon as two people have become engaged, actual Isneg custom
836 allows them to have sexual relations, although no ceremonies have been performed and they are not yet living together. This happens very often of course when the boy goes to see his girl in the evening. A boy who passes his evenings or nights at the house of the girl to whom he has become engaged, is said to *maxal-alldy* or *maxad-adág*.

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This, however, does not necessarily imply that he has coitus with her, nor does it always signify that marriage will take place and that the engagement will not be broken. It simply means that he sleeps with her (*magkadordn*, "to sleep together"). All this goes to show that the parents of the bride generally know about the whole affair long before any steps have been taken on the part of the boy's relatives, so that they have ample time to put a stop to it, if they have any objections to the marriage in question. It is not rare even to hear the girl's parents tell the young couple, while they are together in the evening: "*Ará, mañipatugnúlkayo no piyánnu ya maxatáwa*", "Hollo, have the *tugnúl* [which will be explained presently] performed if you want to marry".

No sooner has the young man obtained complete assurance of the fact that his love is being reciprocated by his sweetheart, than he informs his parents about the matter at the first opportunity. Should they object, he will of course insist as much as possible, at least if his desire to marry that particular girl is very serious. And if nevertheless his parents obstinately refuse to give their consent, then the boy will either break off all further relations with the girl and try his luck with somebody else, or the parties will elope and wait for better times to perform the customary ceremonies. And for some of them they will not have to wait long, as the parents of the girl will not fail to claim as soon as possible the payment which is their due.

3. Premarital Negotiations and Observances

In case the parents of the boy agree to his marriage with the girl he has chosen for his future wife, which of course is the general rule, they themselves from now on attend to further developments. And so there begins a whole series of transactions and ceremonies which I shall try now to describe as faithfully as possible.

Except where especially noted, everything is performed in the same way for any kind of marriage, whether the man be a widower or a divorcee, whether he be young or married already and attempting a second marriage. Nevertheless if the woman is a widow or a divorcee, marriage is very often contracted as in the case of an elopement, and the payment due to the parents of the bride is made after both husband and wife have been living together for some time.

And first, the *amómān*. *Maxamómān* in general means "to converse, to make a contract". In some districts, instead of *maxamómān*, the Isneg use the term *umuné-*, "to enter the house". In this con-

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584 583 nection *maxamómān* (or *umunć-*) means nothing else but "to go to the house of a prospective bride and ask the parents for the hand of their daughter", which is done by the relatives of the groom.

At my first visit to Namaltugan, one evening I was sitting on the porch of the municipal building, when a whole group of Isneg, men and women, old and young, all in festive attire and seemingly in very high spirits and full of glee, were seen passing along and directing their steps toward Aputan. When I inquired about the reason for this display, my companions told me that these Isneg were going to the house of a prospective bride in order to make arrangements for a possible marriage in the near future; they were intent on the *amómān*.

This gathering, which always takes place in the evening, and in which a large group of relatives of the future husband take part, is really a very important business meeting. Here, after the completion of the *sumpád* ceremony, they discuss the *tádug* or price that has to be paid to the parents of the girl, the number of years during which the young husband will have to stay in the house of his parents-in-law before returning to that of his own parents, and so on. The bride and groom, however, take absolutely no part in the deliberations. In this connection the *sáyó* herb should be mentioned for the powerful influence it may be able to exert here: indeed if one or more members of the *amómān* party take some *sáyó* (a small creeping herb) with them, the girl will most certainly consent to go over to the boy's house immediately after the final ceremony, and the latter will not be obliged to stay even for a short time in the house of his parents-in-law.

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584 583 The first part of the *amómān* is known by a special name: *sumpád*, and consists in the formal presentation of the boy's suit by three delegates called *patúgān*. Before dark the *patúgān* start on their way to the house of the girl: one of them is always a young woman, as yet unmarried, and she always carries one, and only one, basket full of native sweets of the variety called *binaladdibád* (*ininapát* in some districts). The *binaladdibád* or *ininapát* consists of *dćkat* rice, a kind of very oily rice, sometimes known as "red" rice among Americans residing in the Philippines; the *dćkat* is indeed very often red, although there are also several varieties of white *dćkat*. The *dćkat*, pounded into powder or not, is cooked with coconut milk (expressed from the meat of the coconut) and salt or sugar, and wound in woven

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584 strips of palm leaves, so as to form small, more or less brick-shaped
583 blocks.

Another member of the *patúgăn* party is an elderly man, who occasionally carries one or more presents for the parents of the girl; these consist of one or more spears (*siñál*), headaxes (*aliwá*), etc. Sometimes clothes also are given on this occasion: jackets, headbands, blankets, etc.; these are then carried by the woman with the *simbá-*, who will be mentioned presently. These presents, however, are entirely supererogatory and are given only by well-to-do people.

584 The most important of the three is an elderly woman, whether
[789] married or widowed. In no case, however, may she be a *bálo* or widow in mourning, and the reason is not far to seek: such a woman could never bring happiness to the future husband and wife; on the contrary, she would merely serve as an ill-boding messenger and announce ahead of time the early demise of the man in whose behalf she asks for the hand of the girl: her recent bereavement would be a sure presage of the same contingency happening to the girl for
[602] whose hand she sues. This elderly woman is usually the mother of the boy; but in her default, another female near relative may do, for instance, an aunt, a first cousin, etc. If the prospective groom is a married man, his wife or, if he has more than one wife, one of
584 them, plays the role of the third member of the party. The latter
583 carries the *simbá-* (from *tabbá-*, "stringing beads"), which consists of one or more strings of beads. If the boy is of wealthy parentage, the *simbá-* is or are made of valuable beads. But this is not at all requisite: any beads will do, and even the most diminutive string of the smallest and most common variety of beads is sufficient for the purpose. With the exception of this last-mentioned woman, the *patúgăn* are usually chosen among those relatives of the boy who are renowned for glibness of tongue, and with reason, as will be seen presently.

On the acceptance or non-acceptance of the *simbá-* by the parents of the girl depends the future of the two young people. Nevertheless a refusal is exceedingly rare, as the repeated nocturnal visits of the young man at the house of his future parents-in-law and his frequent staying overnight and sleeping with his girl, could hardly have escaped notice, and consequently the owners of the house could have notified him of their displeasure, long before such elaborate preparations, as entailed by the *amómăn*, were completed on the part of the

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584 boy's relatives. Should the girl's parents refuse, however, the whole
583 affair is nipped in the bud, and no further advances will be made by the scorned lady, the third member of the *patúgān* party. In this case the young people may take the law in their own hands and elope without further ado, or the boy may simply take the girl, in case the latter consents, into the house of his parents. This may happen even though a year has elapsed since the miscarriage of the *sumpód*. But just as in the case of refusal on the part of the parents of the boy at the time of the latter's engagement, with consequent elopement of the two interested parties, here also further developments will very soon have to take place, and a kind of *amómān* will not fail to be performed, because of the unwillingness of the girl's parents to forego the customary payment or *tádug*.

If the boy is wealthy, the other party is generally more or less exacting with reference to the value of the *simbá-* and its concomitant gifts. But the bearer of the *simbá-* is always prepared for such an emergency: she rarely proffers everything at once, and it may take much time and much talking before everything is finally considered as satisfactory by the relatives of the girl. In no case, however, do the *patúgān* hand over their gifts before their suit has been accepted: they merely show what they have, and the gifts change hands and become the property of the girl's parents only after a definite agreement has been reached.

After the *sumpód* has been brought to a happy conclusion and the *simbá-* accepted by the girl's party, the business meeting continues and other matters relating to the future marriage are discussed, the most important of which is of course the question of the *tádug* or price that will have to be paid by the boy's parents to those of the girl. It should be noted in this connection that the *tádug* goes to the parents of the girl and never to the married couple. This discussion is usually a heated one, especially when the *patúgān* have not been able to conclude the transaction before the arrival of the other members of the boy's party, which is the usual case. Indeed these generally arrive a couple of hours later than the *patúgān*, except when their residence is far from the meeting place, in which case both the *patúgān* and the other relatives of the groom may arrive simultaneously at the house of the bride's parents. Anyhow it rarely happens that the *patúgān* are able to finish this important business before the others take a hand in it.

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Whereas a banquet is almost always a part of the ceremony and *bási* usually flows freely, it is not to be wondered at that a few altercations and occasional hot words are interspersed in the conversation at regular intervals. Both parties of course look for their own interests: the one tries to get the largest possible amount of valuables, while the other is bent on reducing them to a minimum. Although the whole affair usually ends in a mutual agreement, nevertheless it may happen that at this juncture the meeting is broken up and that no further steps are taken toward the final marriage. Here, however, one has again to reckon with the two young people themselves, who may have set their minds very firmly on the attainment of their hearts' desire, and so an agreement may have to be reached, even though one of the parties is loath to conform. If nevertheless the *amómān* miscarries, the reason is usually to be found in the all too high price exacted by the parents of the girl, or on the all too low value at which the girl is esteemed by those of the boy. But here also the engaged couple may act on their own initiative, as has been explained when stating the case in which the girl's parents refused the *simbá-* beads during the *sumpád* ceremony.

It should be noted here that the relatives of the groom who take part in the *amómān* would hardly dare to start on this important expedition without having provided themselves with the customary amulets, lest some harm befall them. These amulets are called *talimúnay*, and consist of certain herbs that remain the secret of the shaman.

Although by this time the Isneg know very well the use and value of currency, nevertheless in matrimonial contracts they stick to the old way of paying in kind, and so the *tádug* consists of what the Isneg prize above anything else, namely jars and beads. To these are sometimes added plates, clothes, etc., according to the agreement reached by both parties at the *amómān*. It would be very hard to say what is the regular price paid for an Isneg girl, as everything depends on the means at the disposal of the interested party, but one *xúsi* jar at least and a few beads should be considered as the very smallest amount that could be exacted by the girl's parents. It is not the place here to enumerate the numerous kinds of *xúsi* jars and beads, each with its own native name, that are known to the Isneg. Suffice it to say that not a few of these jars will be valued at fifty dollars, although from our viewpoint they may be worth less than one tenth of that amount; but our evaluation is not that of the Isneg,

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and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads: a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently antiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars that have been imported recently usually command a much lower price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually, however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

During the *amómăn* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

No really important business can be transacted, of course, among the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

All during the *amómăn* the men conduct everything that is connected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not interfere in the least.

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *ákit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amómān* or betrothal and an *ákit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amómān* takes place at the time a *sāy-ám* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sāy-ám* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgān*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amómān*. The only reason why an *amómān* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sāy-ám* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisina* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *básī* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisina* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amómān*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-allây* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *maxamómān* by that of *maxatáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *ákit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amómān* and the real marriage or *ákit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

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2. On my own part:

In my dealings with the Isneg I use the Main branch of the O dialect, while in writing I use the K branch for reasons given before.[6] So it may have happened that, in writing down texts, my own ordinary use of M has influenced me to write down a given word as I myself would have pronounced it, or my use of K in writing has caused me to put down K's where they were absent in the informant's pronunciation.

Nevertheless I have always tried to write down texts as faithfully as possible, and now I start publishing them as I have them, without trying to correct anything, even though an occasional guttural that appears in a given term does not belong to the correct language of a given informant.

The above warning is given here once for all, and it refers to all Isneg texts that I shall publish in the future.

TEXT I

This text is a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Baydan from Tawit (M), and he calls it *maibubbây*, "courting the girls".

1. *Laláï: iápugnā- man ikáw*[7] *ta adú kanó ya mamámmo a nánda.*
   Babây: áwan pañalakkánta ka mámá ña ñáxan balái.[8]
2. *L.: námmo ây pagdamadámagda ña nagsintiñda ka mamá.*
   B.: díta maxuñgám no mapooná ñam ây.
3. *L.: mañuwáa pagká- kiyá atán kammalañín simpapadán.*
   B.: turáñka mañuwá ka ibatáymo ka asitólâymo.
4. *L.: díka mañaluníb kiyá ittó ya náñko.*
   B.: xapó walá xané ta ummánta kiddí ya agdalidálînta ña dadúma.

[6] Op. cit., 14.

[7] *ikáw*, sometimes pronounced *kow*, which literally means "you", and which I render by 'you', is a little term which is very hard to translate. The Isneg use it all the time, and always in the form *ikáw*, although when it stands for the personal pronoun, those who use the Main branch pronounce *ikáw*. Here thus it stands for something like "come on now", "what is the matter", but it changes its shade of meaning with every context.

[8] *balái* is a term used with affectation; the real ordinary word is *babây*; *balái* is made to look similar to *lalái*, "man".

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539 13. *L.: dálinko nó atán allá-mo ka asitólăymo ńa magbazumán ńa makipakaási kadaăyó.*
B.: as mo rã magkallá- ka bakkán matăy.

14. *L.: námmo iyá matăy ya tañar-uwósan ya agdamdámta.*
B.: ô a ńam ăy ráńka ma- manaróxas ka paŋpaŋuwáko.

15. *L.: ăy ummán kiyá paŋpaŋsów ya aramidanta iyá aŋuwámo.*
B.: ũnna ya maxallán no matúdogka kiyá datóg.

16. *L.: ăy ummán ta datóg ya xóatko iddi.*
B.: ya ulátko ya pazulátmo.

17. *L.: diyã- alá kaw no mapooná kiyán,*
mazuláttã- iddé ta nalmínnã-.
B.: mazulátka no magsibnáta ka paxiddaán.

18. *L.: ũnna ya namalbúya kiddi no dita nazaláđ kitó nõnná a biyóg.*
B.: ta urăymo tuŋpálannin no isá ńa algáw no kurúg ya lamlamtám.

19. *L.: ô mindaggánta ma- iyán ńam ăy matăytañin.*
B.: úrăy man ta turán ummán madu-liyáwăn ya patudóxănta kiyá aŋuwámo.

20. *L.: wăyyá mańkammin ta xañăyta ńa tõlăy ńid mapooná.*
B.: ăy ummáná- luxúd maxiúbáw ka átat amúyaw kadaăyó no kurúg ya panúnutmo.

21. *L.: ăy wăyyáta ńalá magkõnaoná kiddi no pañõg-ógta ka asitólăyta.*
B.: ăy maaŋgámta no mapooná.

22. *L.: ăy sinnámmo ńalá ya náńko.*
B. xará sinnáńko man no kurúg ya lammalammátmo kiyá-.

TRANSLATION

539 584 1. Man (boy): Prepare betel for me, please, 'you', as they say that it is said that you have much betel (for chewing).
Woman (girl): We, who are called "girl", have nowhere to get betel (for chewing) from.

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2. M.: So you say, but they [11] proclaim that they [12] store up betel (for chewing).
W.: But would we not be happy if it were so.

3. M.: You act perhaps on account of the existence of one who is waiting [13] though.
W.: Why do you act making something step on your companion.[14]

4. M.: Do not contradict (lying) what I say.
W.: Only because, is it not, we are like this, we others are just walking along.[15]

5. M.: Not at all though, but what you say is clear though.[16]
W.: Ah, even though you watch me during a month, if you do not believe me.

6. M.: Ah, do not pose an act so as one day to have deceived your companion.[17]
W.: Ah, even though you see after a long time if I have lied to you.

7. M.: Ah, if we believe that, we others may meet to our loss.[18]
W.: Ah, even though I expiate it if you suffer that loss.

8. M. (sings): Let us not approach
The anger of the woman
O do ay ay.
Is it not allowed to lie on the same pillow with you.
W.: Why do you happen to do like that again.
Why is it as if you saw me for the first time.

9. M.: Why is your idea about seeing you for the first time.
W.: We others are ashamed about that, you know.

[11] Other people.
[12] The girls.
[13] Another lover.
[14] Why do you suspect this of me, to whom you are talking.
[15] You dare say so because I am a plain ordinary girl, is it not?
[16] There is another lover.
[17] Me, to whom you are talking.
[18] If, one day, both lovers meet, one may kill the other.

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10. M.: It is like with us, if we throw around on any kind of road the explanation of what we meditate upon.[19]
Do not call it greed on our part if we tell you what we like from you.
W.: You say that though, but, as to myself, I do not though.
The companions sing when they are like that.

11. M. (singing): Women are difficult,
They push away the body of the one who draws near.
My little girl, why do you not share with me
The mat that has been spread out.
W.: The place where my ladder rests on the ground seems to be worn out through your frequent coming back.

12. M.: It looks like that as I am the one who comes to manifest what I think.
I am like the one who pronounces the thought of the constant feeling of this my body.
That is like that to have you answer what I pronounce to you.
W.: Not so indeed, but is it like us to believe the things without value that you put forth.[20]

13. M.: I thought that you would pity your companion[21] who tries his best to sue for your mercy.
W.: Ha, how can one pity one who is not dead.

14. M.: You say that it is to the dead that we offer transiently our thoughts.
W.: Yes indeed, but why though do you cheat me in my acts.

15. M.: Is it like joking what we do to your acts.
W.: Who will scold you if you sleep on the floor.[22]

16. M.: Is it like the floor being my purpose here.
W.: Let my blanket be what you use for your blanket.

[19] We also are ashamed to talk about love along the street, that is the reason why I come here to your house.

[20] *paionoonda*, literally: to cause to be first all the time.

[21] Me.

[22] Away from my mat.

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17. M.: I do not want though, 'you', if it is like that.
I shall cover myself with a blanket here as I feel cold.
W.: Cover yourself with a blanket if we lie down separately.

18. M.: Who shows these things, if we did not use for a pattern those that lived first.[23]
W.: Your thought will be fulfilled one day, if what you meditate upon is true.

19. M.: Yes, we have to wait for that, but we die now already.
W.: Even so, why is it as if our sleeping place be bright for your act.[24]

20. M.: How can we complete our human customs like that.[25]
W.: Ah, thus I am like feeling to be the fruit of an amuyaw-tree left on the tree after the harvest, if your idea is true.

21. M.: How can we put forth this, if we do it to fool our companion.[26]
W.: Ah, we are happy if it is so.

22. M.: Ah, look only at what I say.
W.: All right, let me see if your idea regarding me is true.

The girl allows the boy to lie down on her mat, which is her first concession and proves to the boy that his suit is not rejected. My informant emphatically stated that nothing untoward would happen after this first concession.

Although this text is essentially Isneg, we find the following foreign terms:

Two Spanish terms with an Isneg jacket:

In (5), *mandar*, "to order", in the sense of watching.
In (7), *perdición*, "loss".

One Ibanag term:

In (11), *dapán*, instead of *abá-*, for "mat".

[23] We do only what our parents did before us.

[24] Is my mat the only place where you can lie down?

[25] Yes, but is that the way of human nature, for man and woman to sleep on a different mat?

[26] Can you imagine that I would fool you?

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192 Three Iloko terms, almost in juxtaposition with their corresponding Isneg terms:

In (12) and passim: *panúnut*, "thought", Isneg *damdám* (in 14).
In (13), *káási*, "pity", "mercy", Isneg *allá-*.
In (15), *arámid*, "doing", "acting", Isneg *nwá*.

TEXT II

[584 115] This text, like the preceding, consists in a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Umila from Abbil (A), and he calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

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1. *L.: magápugka man ikáw.*
   B.: áwán abbulón.
2. *L.: daddán turá áwán no iyá- ya maiápug ta.*
   B.: wáyyá ñalá iddánta ya áwán.
3. *L.: ta daddán turáñka mapáwanán ta.*
   B.: úráy nad atán abbulón áy piyánnu pé nad.
4. *L.: bakkánnu a abbulón piyán no daáyó.*
   B.: magiyámánta a no ummán kiyán.
5. *L.: áy simpre bakkánnu id kammalañín piyán ya mañiápug.*
   B.: ó walá no andaáyó.
6. *L.: se pé lugúd ta bakkámmo piyán mañilnáb ki mamám.*
   B.: ammóta ma- no piyánnu ya dagapágap ña gawád.
7. *L.: bakkámmo a piyán babáy no iáw.*
   B.: ó námmo walá a kiyán ikáw kiyá ummán pé idí.
8. *L.: agkúd kammalañín lu-sáwañko úráy dagapágap ña gawád.*
   B.: no áwánmo lu-sáwan bakkáñka lugúd magbabáwi ta iápugtaka.
9. *L.: áy paannáñ a lugúd abbulón.*
   B.: mapaanná totó walá ya urámo ikáw ki ummá iddí.
10. *L.: sigún ki panúnutko a ikáw ya atón ki ólo-.*
    B.: no sigún ki panúnutmo ikáw áy bakkáñka lugúd nagdámdám ki sabáli.
11. *L.: nágan ma- kam pagtuñpálañko no di ittó seldí.*
    B.: babáyyá- ikáw ña áwán serbí.

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12. *L.: turá mepabobóñ ya urâymo ki ummán iddí.*
B.: paiyán na urâyko mepabobóñ ta.

13. *L.: iyán nalá añuwámo a ikáw.*
B.: abây ganč ya básolko ki ummán kídí ña arámid.

14. *L.: ô walá abbulón kanč iyâ- ya atân kídí.*
B.: ây bakkán lugúd a ñam ây nâñko ampčlañín.

15. *L.: iápugnâ- ma- totáwin ikáw a.*
B.: ammóta nad abbulón no magñáñây ya ummán kiddí a pampanúnutmo.

16. *L.: bakkán nad magnâyon a no âañyó abbulón.*
B.: bakkán lugúd a ñam ây turá pč yalá nepagâsat iáw ya atân ídí.

17. *L.: kurúg kammalañín ya pampanúnutko ki mepapán kiáw.*
B.: no ummán kiyán abbulón turânnu kammalañín ílaw-át ya urâyta a dadúma.

18. *L.: kâyâtko ammalá ñammínnin abbulón úrây ñanná ya añôg-ôg da abbulón kiyâ- gapô kiáw.*
B.: nânnu walá abbulón kid atânka ñalá kídí.

19. *L.: ây bakkán lugúd a abbulón ñam ây díta pč mabaín kiyá ummán kiyán ña ag-agiyánnu.*
B.: ây pandá úalá a ya añuwámo kiyá ummán kídí ña uuwaán ta.

20. *L.: ây nágan ma- kam- âyá pagtuñpálañko no di ya ummán kídí.*
B.: pandá ñal- a añuwánuwin abbulón ta iparúbâ- lugúd ya pinañkaâyâtko kiáw ñam ây bakkáñka magbabáwi lugúd no adaddú ña algáw ya mapalpalábasta ka pandá iddí ña gabí.

TRANSLATION

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1. M.: Prepare betel, please, 'you'.
W.: I have none, companion.

2. M.: Now, why is there none when I am the one asking you to prepare betel.
W.: How can we give what is not there.

3. M.: Now, why are you without.
W.: Even though there were some, companion, would you like it though.

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4. M.: Would you not, companion, like it, if you were those (who ask for it).
W.: We are grateful indeed if it is like that.

5. M.: Surely you do not like though to prepare betel for somebody.
W.: Yes indeed, if it is for you.[27]

6. M.: If so thus you do not like to distribute your betel (for chewing).
W.: Do we know if you like betel that crept over the ground.[28]

7. M.: You would not like it, woman, if it is you (who want betel).
W.: Yes, you say so only, 'you', like this.

8. M.: I will not resent it though, even though it be betel that crept over the ground.
W.: If you do not resent it, do not repent thus when I prepare betel for you.

9. M.: How can we do it then, companion.
W.: What is really the matter with your thinking, 'you', like this.

10. M.: It depends on my thought, 'you', which is in my head, is it not?
W.: If it depends on your thought, 'you', thus you do not think of somebody else.

11. M.: To whom could I finally belong if not to this one.
W.: I am a woman, 'you', without use.

12. M.: Why is your thought put upon the roof like this.
W.: Would to God my thought were put upon the roof.

13. M.: That is only what you do, is it not, 'you'.
W.: Would my fault not be big if I acted like this.

14. M.: Yes indeed, companion, but I am the one who is here.
W.: Ah, not so thus, but I say so though.

15. M.: Prepare betel for me though, really, 'you', won't you?
W.: How can we know, companion, if your thought like this will be permanent.

[27] I do not want to do it for you.

[28] Betel that crept up along a stalk, etc. is the only one considered good by the Isneg.

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16. M.: It will not continue if you (do not want), companion.
W.: Not indeed, but why is the one who is here the fortunate one with you.

17. M.: My thought with reference to you is true though.
W.: If it is like that, companion, why though do you make our thoughts uneasy.

18. M.: I like everything though, companion, even though perhaps my companions make a fool out of me on account of you.
W.: Perhaps you say so only, companion, because you are here.

19. M.: Ah, not so indeed, companion, but would we not be ashamed of what you say like that.
W.: Ah, it does not matter what you do with reference to acting like this.

20. M.: To whom would I finally belong if not to the one like this.[39]
W.: Anything you do is all right then, companion, as I truthfully tell you now that I love you, but do not repent then if we allow long days to pass beginning with this night.

Here we meet again with several words borrowed from other languages:

From the Spanish:

In (5), *simpre* from *siempre*, "always", with the meaning of "surely".

In (10), *sigún* from *según*, "according to", with the meaning of "it depends on".

In (11), *serbí* from *servir*, "to serve", with the meaning of "use".

Then Iloko and Isneg terms in juxtaposition:

In (10), Iloko *panúnut* and Isneg *damdám*, "thinking".

In (13), Iloko *ardmid* and Isneg *wwá*, "acting".

TEXT III

This text consists in a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he has been courting for some time. My informant is the same Umila of the preceding text, who again calls it *mamabdy*, "to court a girl".

[39] If not to you.

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TRANSLATION

1. M.: What is really, 'you', woman, the reason why I have the good luck from those that cannot be seen,[80] why I come to walk on a road like this, and, companion, the entrance to this road is not closed. I, 'you', is it not, would be ashamed if for some reason it were not allowed for me to walk on this road.

   W.: I do not know, companion, why what you propose like this is not yet proper to my mind, companion. We only want to sound the outcome of what you propose like this.

2. M.: I do not know anything about where we are going to, all of us men (all alike), if not though this here custom though created by those that cannot be seen with reference to what is done to us, men. Never mind what you do, woman, if where you are going to is not like what I come walking here for.[81]

   W.: Yes indeed, companion, but like this and this is perhaps not yet proper for my body; look still, companion, for another road for you to walk, as I did not make you walk on a road like this. We would be ashamed, companion, if for some reason we should come and make you people walk, when it is not proper though for our body as it is.[82]

3. M.: Ah, if you talk like that, never mind thus, as how can we be overpowered by what one man say. We do n[o]t against the one that cannot be seen, if we almost walk on a road like this.

   W.: Yes, companion, but do not repent or be sorry if for some reason we have the good luck to be made your companion, do not thus be sorry if I let you walk on a road like this.

4. M.: Yes now, companion, that means you, but not me though, because if for instance I were the woman I should resent one man making a fool of me.

   W.: If it is like that thus, we are grateful, 'you', as we obtained thus what we proposed; do not thus be sorry if we lie down with you this evening.

[80] The spirits.

[81] Never mind if you do not reciprocate my love.

[82] I am not worthy of you.

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584 My informant emphatically stated that nothing untoward would yet happen at this juncture.

192 In this text we have one word borrowed from the Spanish:
In (1, *L.*), *sirrá*, from *cerrar*, to close".

Also one Iloko term in juxtaposition with its Isneg equivalent:
In (3, *B.*), Iloko *babáwi* and Isneg *appôli*, "repenting" (the *ô* in *appôli* and in the derivatives above, 3, *B.* and 4, *B.*, is like the *aw* in English "dawn", but longer).

Besides, one Iloko expression, a favorite with many Isneg:
In (4, *L.*), *kas pagarigān*, "for instance".

TEXT IV

[584 115] This text consists in a dialogue between a boy and the girl he courts for the first time. In the latter part of the dialogue, the answers of the girl are lacking. My informant is Kimat from Baliwanan (M), 539 who calls it *mamabây*, "to court a girl".

1. *L.: mazápugka man ikáw.*
   B.: wag[33] *kud mamâńko ikáw.*
2. *L.: busídmo yān ikáw.*
   B.: pazádigmo xané ta magbusbusígka.[34]
3. *L.: bakkán luxúd nam ăy mâńko ampčlañín.*
   B.: nâmmo no ikáw.
4. *L.: sč- bakkán ikáw.*
   B.: úrăy no nâmmo ikáw ăy pandá ńalá.
5. *L.: atân yān ikáw no dôdúma se pč iyá.*
   B.: tân nam ăy bakkán kammalañín kurkurúggin.
6. *L.: úrăy no bakkán kurúg ăy piyâńko walá.*
   B.: poonáńâ- pč ikáw.
7. *L.: úrăy man no aniyá ikáw ya malak-ámâńko ăy pandá ńalá.*
   B.: maammóa ikáw dîtámo walá ibañát.
8. *L.: úrăymo walá sinnán a.*
   B.: diyâ- miyamânān abbulón no mapooná.
9. *L.: isá ampčlañín ikáw ya axiyáńko manín.*

[194]

[33] *(a)wád*: *d* changed into *g*, before *k*.
[34] *busíd*: Cf. preceding note.

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10. *L.: mapaannâ ma-dín abbulón no atán ma-dín ya mañipalbúya ka panúnutna.* 539
11. *L.: bakkán nôd totó walá mabalín no uwá.*
12. *L.: siñkaammówâ- zanć kiyá adăyyó ńam lawízăn búlan nórăy ipibbazáta ńa dôdúma.*
13. *L.: yăn nalá pandáta ăy.*
14. *L.: sćno iyâ- malak-ámko ya dákes ăy nalak-ámko ya napiyâ.*
15. *L.: ta sćno ummán kîdí si ídí nórăy ipalawágko no bakkámmo walá piyán.*
16. *L.: úrăy no ummán kîdí ya pampanúnutta ńa dôdúma no bakkán nánnu ăy wăyyáñă- alá paannán.*
17. *L.: ńáñawko la abbulón ya siñkaázaw wa manálĕn ka pádamagdaldálĕn sćno bakkán yăn năn páda- magbiyág ăy wăyyá alá paannán.*
18. *L.: tittó pĕ ikáw ya mamalagmán ka bandó páda- parsuwá bakkáñko mauwá.*
19. *L.: tarć- pakiddumalán bakkán pamalikatán no uwá abbulón.*
20. *L.: ńam ăy mabalikáttă- ńa dôdúma ta mepañgĕp kanć abiyágta.*

TRANSLATION

539
584

1. M.: Prepare betel nut, please, 'you'.
   W.: Have I betel (to chew) then, 'you'.
2. M.: Your lie indeed, 'you'.
   W.: Your model, is it not, because you are lying.
3. M.: Not indeed, but I say it though.
   W.: You say it, if you are (the one).
4. M. Ha, no, 'you'.
   W.: Even though you say it, 'you', never mind.
5. M.: There is, indeed, 'you', sometimes, and I also.[35]
   W.: There is, but it is not true[36] now though.
6. M.: Even though it be not true I like it anyhow.
   W.: That is also like me, 'you'.

[35] There is betel indeed; both of us are liable to tell a lie occasionally.
[36] Good betel.

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539 7. M.: Whatever, 'you', I obtain, it is all the same.
W.: It is your business, 'you', should you throw it away.

584 8. M.: Even though you look at it now, see.[37]
W.: Would I not feel gratified, companion, if it is so.

9. M.: One thing though, 'you', I will say again.

10. M.: How now, companion, if there is one now who manifests his thoughts.

11. M.: It cannot be, really, after all.[38]

12. M.: I know, is it not, that it is farther than the stars,[39] even though we others will say it.

13. M.: That is our end now.[40]

14. M.: As for me, I obtain what is bad or I obtain what is good.

15. M.: So that it is like this: no this,[41] even though I explain it if you do not like it.

16. M.: Even though our thought is like this, if you say: "No", what can I do about it.

17. M.: It is my greed, companion, to steal this walk from others who are walking like me, so that if one who lives like me says: "No now", what can be done about it.

18. M.: But, 'you', to transgress the order[42] of my fellow creatures, I cannot do it.

19. M.: Failing to act without permission will result in not being offended by words[43] after all, companion.

20. M.: But I am offended by words on account of our life.[44]

In this text we meet with one Spanish term: *bando*, "ordinance".

[37] I shall not throw it away.

[38] I am not worthy of you.

[821] [39] *lawixan búlan*, literally: rope of the moon, thus: what follows the moon. The Isneg imagine the stars following the moon.

[40] We cannot add anything to it.

[41] Never mind.

[42] To act without permission.

[43] *balikát* usually means: pronouncing. Here it means: pronouncing bad words in order to offend somebody.

[44] Because we are of a lower state.

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TEXT V

This text contains a few scattered sayings, mostly of a boy who is courting a girl, occasionally of the girl answering him. Even when they are not marked "singing", these sayings are pronounced in a more or less singing tone, with rhythm and occasionally rhyme clearly apparent. My informant is Lampa from Dungia (M), who calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

1. *L.: iápuynā- íkit, bowaánmo ka lúsit, ta apúxāmmo ka bitti-, asixidaúko mamídit.*
2. *(ag-axí): díku ag-axiyán*
   kaw ô to xāvyáin maāwán.
3. *as paannán ud xané ikáw no maxiŋgápta ka bátug iŋgáp no abbulón.*
4. *as kannámo ittó piyán ya maxiddá kiddí ăy nalawág ma- ya balăy.*
5. *kanaánta ittó piyán ya maxis-isissá ăy atánkayo ma- pē ta.*
6. *tittó pē ya maŋiroboróbo ka pádana magdalidálēn akkáŋko uwaán.*
7. *atán kid abbulón no sabáli ya makiápug ŋam ăy se iyá- to ya āwán nánnu.*
8. *B.: akkán luxúd abbulón ŋam ăy āwán kammalaŋín.*
9. *tittó pē ya magdudúma ka páda- magbibiyág akkáŋko uwaán.*
10. *paydudumánnu ikáw ya tólăy ta.*
11. *L.: akkán luxúd abbulón ŋam ăy báraŋ ŋalá náŋko.*
12. *B.: atán mamá ikáw ŋam ăy mamá kammalaŋín ŋa ur-úrăy.*
13. *xawág[43] kammalaŋín na ur-úrăy.*
14. *L.: atán kud kammalá ŋa lu-sáwaŋko wa tólăy.*
15. *séno ya xawád da ur-úrăy ya nánnu wag kud da di magkal-kaláse kammalaŋín kiyá xawád atán ya namít ta xawád ăy atáw ya nasablē-.*
16. *se kadím pē kada-tá tólăy atán da babáy se laláki.*
17. *ummáŋ kanó ma- pē kada-tá iyá- ăy no banáŋā- ka abág ăy ikáw ăy no banáŋka ak-akén.*
18. *(ag-axí): dita bumanbananndy*
    ma- ô lu-sáw di babáy.
19. *nannawánā- babáy*
    ta nallāā- pē săy.

[43] *xawád*: Cf. note 33.

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TRANSLATION

539 1. M.: Prepare betel for me, aunt, put soft betel nut in it, add a little lime, I shall pick it up with my left hand.

584 2. (singing): Do not tell
'you', to a friend that there is none.

3. Ha, could it not be, is it not, 'you', that we sleep in front of one another, sleeping when there is a companion.

4. Ha, how do you like this to lie down here while the house is still clear.

5. How could we like to be all alone, when you are here also.

6. That, which would be joking with one who walks along like me, I do not do.

7. There would be some perhaps, companion, if another one asked you to prepare betel for him, but to me: "There is none", you say.

8. W.: Not so indeed, companion, but there is none though.

9. That, which would be making a selection among living people like me, I do not do.

10. You make a selection, 'you', among men.[48]

11. M.: No indeed, companion, but I say only: "If perhaps".

12. W.: There is betel (for chewing), 'you', but betel (for chewing) though that is useless.

13. Betel though that is useless.

14. M.: Could there be though which I do not like, I a human being.

15. As to the useless betel as you call it, are there any things that are not of different grade though; as to betel, there is tasty betel and there is tasteless.

16. And also with us men, there are women and men.

17. It is, they say, also like with us: I, if I sneeze, it is in a G-string, but you, if you sneeze, it is in a tapis.

18. (singing): Let us not approach
The resentment of a woman.

19. You are overbearing to me, woman,
I am really to be pitied.

192 One Spanish word occurs in this text, namely: *clase*, "class", pronounced *kaláse* in Nr. 15.

[48] Why do you want me and not some other girl.

727 ally the houses are burnt. The attacking warriors withdraw after a time and start for home with what heads they have secured.

If the warriors have secured some heads, they start shouting in triumph while still some distance from home. The women answer and come out to meet them. There is much victorious clamour. Each successful warrior hacks his heads in pieces and either places them on bamboos in front of his house, or else hangs them in the convenient large tree sacred to his especial *anito*. They are decorated with flowers. Then the people hold a feast, called *boda*, at which they eat and drink; but do not dance. The main event is the [537] triumphal shouting of the warriors. Each relates in a chant the mighty deeds which he has done.

MARRIAGE

582 A youth is free to select and woo the girl of his
584 choice—with his nose flute, *baling*, or a kind of jews-
[534] harp, *oribao*, or by other means common to youth the
[836] world over. If she is agreeable, the courtship becomes serious and they enter into an arrangement, *aluloy*, whereby the sleep together for a period of from three months to a year. They are in earnest in this affair. for they know that, if it does not result in marriage, they must pay a heavy fine. Their object is pregnancy.

583 When the youth decides to have the marriage. he
584 requests his parents to deliver several baskets of rice cakes to the house of the girl. All the relatives of both parties are notified and assemble in the house to arrange for the wedding. They have a feast: rice.

They have a feast: rice
basi, and the greater part of a pig or dog are served. 584
Then business begins. The parents and relatives of 583
the youth, arrange the amount of the dowry, *todog*. [574
If it is of less value, the youth must stay in the house 262]
of the girl. When the contract is agreed upon, it is strictly adhered to; and the youth and girl are said to be married.

The real ceremony, *aqueb*, then follows. The pa- 585
rents of the girl bring pigs and baskets of rice-cakes to the house of the youth. The girl comes in company with several old women. They all stop about one hundred yards from the house of the youth. There they are met by the parents or mother of the youth, bearing valuable gifts for the parents of the girl. The youth's mother then requests the girl from her parents. Upon approval, the whole company moves to the house, where the mother presents her gifts to the parents of the girl. The rice cakes are sold to the re- [435]
latives of the youth, the nominal price being P1.00 per basket. Then the merry-making starts and continues through the night. The youth and girl must [784]
not eat the sweets, as one of them would die. In the morning final payments of the dowry are made and distributed. Then the young couple are considered to be properly married, but still controlled by their parents.

When the young woman feels that she is about to 844
give birth, either the husband or the mother-in-law will twist a piece of cloth, light one end, and place it, the *pungan*, at the door. With it is the coconut shred- [412]
der, *igad*. These guard the woman while delivering so that no *anito* can come into the house to annoy the

pleasing lilt or perchance composing words in honor of some guest or circumstance. The tune used is called the *salecdomey*. Somewhere a boy may be openly courting the girl of his choice in a characteristic chant *adkaling*, but often composing his own words. Food and sweets may be served two or three times in the night, and the party goes on with increasing excitement, as more and more *basi* is consumed. Drunken quarrels may break out, leading to blows. Killings are not infrequent. One must have had quite a few drinks in order to really enjoy this party.

Along towards morning the music stops and the tired people lie down to sleep—either in that or adjacent houses. If, perchance, a boy has been successful in his courtship, he may follow his girl to where she lies down. After some further discussion, she probably accepts him.

The feast may continue the next day and next, according to the wishes and wealth of the family, and how long the *basi* and food lasts. At the end of the feast, the priestess again calls the *anito*: she tells it that they hope that it is pleased with its feast and will now grant their requests. Then the guests start for home. The relatives are each given some meat to take with them, and soon all is quiet again.

Probably the most popular feast is the *say-am*, given for the *anito*, Pilay, after the harvest. The *dildap* is a small, short feast given for the *anito Kaybacan*, sometimes for the health or welfare of the family, or to clinch some agreement. There is no dancing. The *magboto* is given before, and the *boda* after a head hunting expedition as described elsewhere. The

jar of *basi*, a small pig, and a small dog. When all their 789
visitors had arrived, their house was not able to ac- 574
commodate all the people. Their sister, whose name was Hinalingan, came out from their house and said. "Oh, *anito*, I pray to you that my house will become big so that it can accommodate all my visitors." After uttering this wish, the visitors could see the house becoming bigger and bigger until all of them were accommodated.

The older brother, by the name of Hinadolan, went near the stove and said, "I pray to *anito* that all our food will be prepared." Not long after that all the food were prepared. Then they distributed the rice and other food.

After eating, the dance started. It was led by a young brother, named Imlang. Imlang took his sister, Hinalingan, and began the dance. While Imlang, and his sister were dancing, their visitors were surprised to see that they were like birds flying in the air. It was because their feet did not touch the floor; but they were dancing in the air. After the dance, they ate again. Then after all had eaten, it was found that not even half of the food prepared was consumed by the people. Now the feast was over and their visitors returned to their homes.

Three nights after the feast, one of the men from 584
among their visitors came with his father. After they arrived, they were entertained by the brothers and sister who asked what was the purpose of their visit. The man replied that he loved Hinalingan and wished to marry her. Courtship was followed by the marriage ceremony. The couple lived happily with the brothers after that.

(meaning: continuously houses). There it is still existing up to this day. That is how it got its name. 103

HOW ANGYOBAN STARTED HEAD-HUNTING

Many years ago in Madatag there lived a man named Angyoban. He was regarded as the bravest and most handsome of the young men. There was also a very good girl named Bandiyang whom Angyoban admired very much. He began to court her and loved her greatly; but he was not successful in his courtship. However, Angyoban was so determined to marry the girl that he continud to court her during twelve long years. 584

Then one evening in desperation, he went to the house of Bandiyang and fiercely demanded that Bandiyang should marry him. She refused, and the argument went on with Angyoban threatening more and more. At last Bandiyang said, "You shall have your demand if you obey what I tell you. Go to the land of our enemies and return with an enemy's head, shield, and *guod*."

So Angyoban set out to go to the land of their enemies. When he had come near to the houses, he hid in ambush by one of the trails leading to the fields. This was very early in the morning. When an enemy came on his way to work, Angyoban sprang up and obtained his prize in an easy fashion. He had the 726 584

726 584 weapons also; for it was the custom for a man always to carry his spear, shield and *gaod* with him.

He returned to the house of Bandiyang bringing his trophies with him. All the people joyfully came to celebrate the valor of Angyoban, and the marriage took place soon after.

THE FEUD BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF ALISIT AND KUMAO

608 Many times the peoples of Alisit went to fight the Bulo people. They found no one at home. One time when on their way to Bulo, they became very hungry [476] and stopped in Kumao. It happened that at that time, the people of Kumao were gathering posts for a house. There were many people there to help. They had *basi* to drink. So they offered some to the Alisit people. [517] While sitting on the ground, they talked and had oratorical contests, each contestant telling of their cus- [579] toms. The *maingel of* Kumao was Lindo. They became drunk and got into an angry quarrel. Lindo said to Baliwan, "You are good only for hunting women [152] and not for hunting men." Baliwan became very angry and answered back and struck Lindo with his *gaod*. When Bayao, the son of Lindo, saw Baliwan strike his father, he snatched up his *gaod* to help his father. Then all the warriors were drawn into the fight, and five of the Alisit men were killed. None of the Kumao people were killed.

628 484 Later on, twelve Kumao people were taking a trip to Sulsuna in Ilocos for trading purposes. They